

THE MILITANT

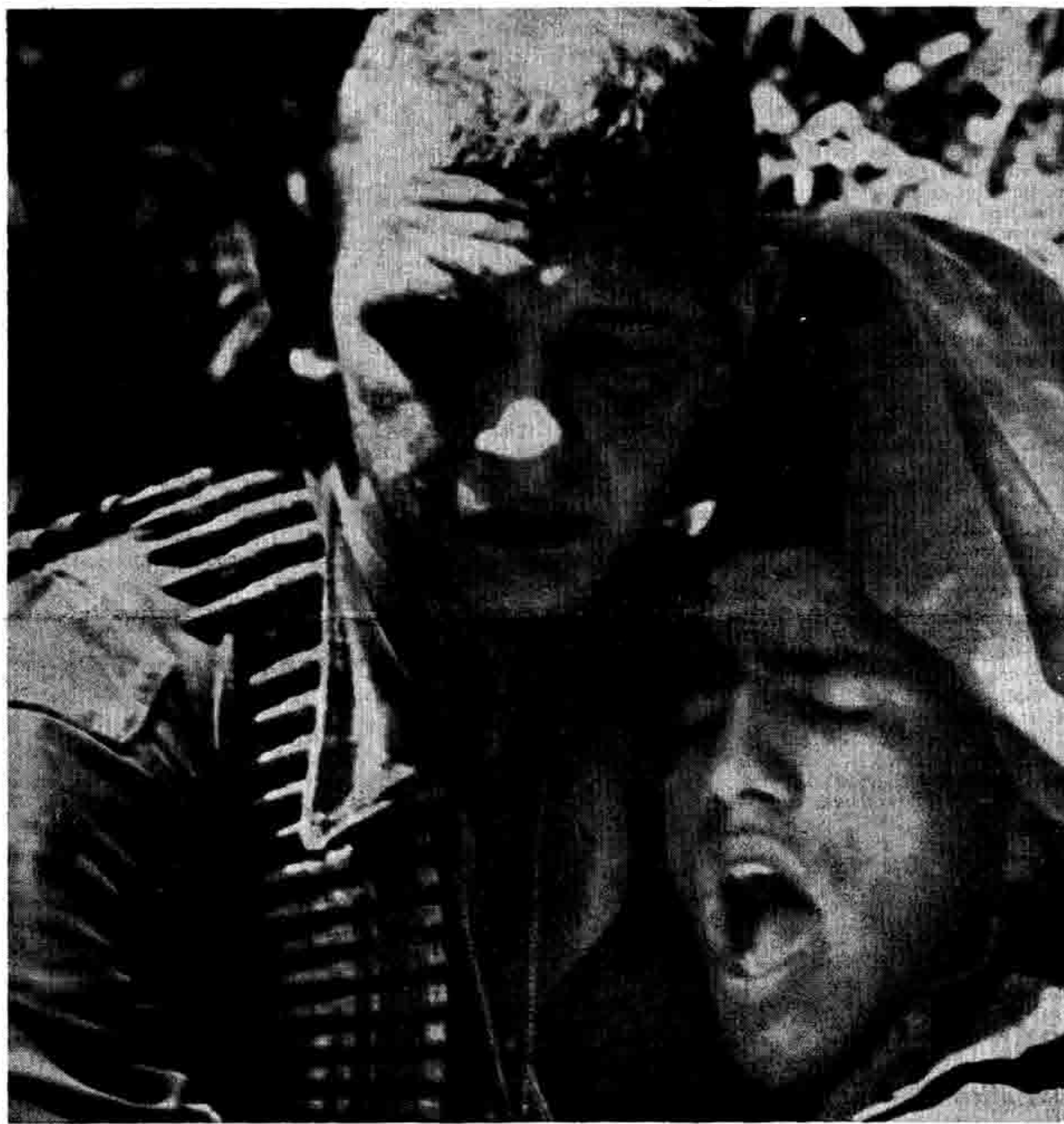
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Vietnam: A Reply To Michael Harrington

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BRING THE GI'S HOME!



THE FACE OF WAR. Marine Corporal Manuel Lopez cries out in pain as a comrade, PFC Garry H. White of Livingston, Montana, shares his agony. Lopez stepped on a land mine while his Marine company was attacking a village suspected of harboring guerrillas. With wide support from the population the guerrillas are able to set a wide variety of traps.

Your Friendly Justice Dep't Correspondent

Where LBJ Refers Viet Protests

By Arthur Maglin

If you wrote a letter to the President protesting the war in Vietnam and you received a reply to it from the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department, would you think that the government was trying to intimidate you? (That is exactly what happens to such protest mail.)

If your answer is yes, then J. Walter Yeagley, head of Internal Security, would beg to disagree with you.

Mr. Yeagley gives us the Johnson administration's reason for routing letters about Vietnam to Internal Security: "If you write the government about antitrust, the Anti-trust Division answers your letters. If you write about crime, the Criminal Division an-

Patriot of the Week

"NEW ORLEANS, Nov 18 (UPI) — The parents of a youth who shot up a jet airliner in an apparent hijacking attempt said today they believed he wanted to fly the 91 persons aboard to Cuba to prove to them the evils of Communism. The boy, Thomas Robinson, 16 years old, of Brownsville, Texas, was described by his mother as 'extremely patriotic.' Officials kept him in an isolated cell today 'so he won't hurt himself.'"

swers." And so it goes, if you write about Vietnam, the Internal Security Division answers! That's only logical — isn't it?

According to the Nov. 19 *New York Times*, Internal Security uses "a bland, stock reply that is intended not to offend, but does not explain why the Internal Security Division has answered and leaves the vague impression that the matter is still resting with the division."

Furthermore, in case you didn't know, Internal Security "specializes in prosecuting Communists and spies." It was set up to prosecute the notorious McCarran Act. According to Mr. Yeagley, "We're the only ones that have even remote bearing on this." [Vietnam war protests.] Now, isn't that reassuring!

NOV. 23 — The events of the past two weeks have underscored the need to bring the GIs home from the senseless slaughter in the illegal war in Vietnam. At the same time, the opportunity for the antiwar movement here in the U.S. to help bring about an end to the war has also increased.

The battles in the Iadrang Valley of Vietnam, where U.S. troops have suffered by far their heaviest casualties of the war, show the impossibility of an end to the war by a quick victory of U.S. forces. In spite of overwhelming superiority in U.S. equipment, in spite of the massive tactical support by airplanes — all on the U.S. side and none on the other — and in spite of massive bombings in a scale larger than in any previous war, U.S. spokesmen acknowledge that the strength of the Vietnamese revolutionaries is increasing.

U.S. troops have taken on the brunt of the fighting from the soldiers of the Saigon regime and there is no end in sight. GI casualty rates have increased sharply and are expected to remain high.

The revelations about the administration's secret rejection in the fall of 1964 of offers by Hanoi to negotiate prove that the administration has been lying all along to the American people, and make even more clear that Wash-

ington will not take steps to get out of Vietnam unless it is forced to. Its outlook seems to be that it can't afford to negotiate when it's losing and has no need to when it's winning.

In the face of all this, the opposition to the U.S. involvement in the war is more widespread than many people realize and significant forces tending to interfere with Johnson's war plans are in evidence. These include:

- 1) Mounting evidence of serious divisions within the ruling class of the U.S. on the course Johnson has been following.
- 2) Widespread and growing popular opposition to the war here at home.
- 3) The difficulties Johnson has encountered in waging the war itself in Vietnam.
- 4) Mounting opposition internationally, and particularly throughout Asia, to the U.S. role in Vietnam. Even UN Secretary General U Thant departed from his carefully cultivated neutrality last week to voice a thinly-veiled rebuke of the U.S. on the failure to pursue Hanoi's proposals in 1964.

The antiwar movement in this country has a real opportunity to affect the course of events; to organize the millions of Americans who are opposed to the war and to make the movement the additional factor which could force the government to bring the troops home.

The Antiwar Convention

An Editorial

One of the important questions facing the Thanksgiving antiwar convention in Washington is whether the independent committees against the war in Vietnam should constitute themselves as a national organization. It is our opinion that such a national organization, representative of and responsible to the independent committees, should be formed.

These independent committees, variously called Committees to End the War in Vietnam and Vietnam Day Committees, have sprung up in many areas of the country since the April 17 March on Washington. The formation of these committees into a national organization would greatly increase their effectiveness individually and collectively. A national newsletter containing information about local activities and the truth about the Vietnam war would aid every committee. A national organization could help to organize new committees. Literature could be printed and distributed on a scale not possible for individual committees. National publicity would be easier to obtain. And national actions could be planned and coordinated much more effectively.

The war in Vietnam cannot be ended solely by the activities of local committees. A powerful national movement against the war will have to be built. The formation of a national organization of the independent committees will impel the whole movement forward by organizing its fastest growing and most militant section.

The independent committees are the largest component of the movement against the Vietnam war. The other components include the traditional peace organizations like SANE, Women Strike for Peace, CNVA, etc., and radical youth organizations such as Students for a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance, DuBois Clubs, May 2 Movement, and the radical parties. The independent committees welcome everyone to participate, including members of the above groups. However, they are composed in their majority of people who do not belong to any other radical or peace organization. These people, the bulk of the anti-Vietnam-war movement, should have a voice in all national dis-

(Continued on Page 4)

Cops in Frame-Up Raid On Cleveland Socialists

CLEVELAND, Nov. 21 — Shock and indignation spread through the community last week following a goon-type midnight attack on Eugene V. Debs Hall by plainclothes city police and state liquor agents.

Some 75 persons were present at a buffet dinner benefit for The Militant Saturday night, Nov. 13, at Debs Hall, where the weekly Militant Forum meets every Sunday night at 7:30. Most of the guests were seated at tables, eating, or standing in groups, talking. A few young couples were dancing to recorded music.

Suddenly, about midnight, half a dozen burly men burst into the hall and pushed their way through to both ends of the room. Some of the guests first thought it was a hold-up and reached for their purses. But it was soon apparent that the strangers were there to break up the party.

In the confusion that followed they shouted contradictory orders as they jostled people back and forth. Several of the raiders went around with pencil and paper making notes of literature on racks, of leaflets on bulletin boards. One man loudly ordered everyone to go home. Another barred the door. Several pushed the guests toward the door. Others

pushed them back from the door.

When they were asked who they were, the raiders refused to identify themselves. One said, "Joe Blow." Another said, "You'll find out." Another, "You're not under arrest, are you? I don't have to tell you anything!"

Roughed Up

Some of the guests who have been active in the civil rights movement and others who protested against being shoved around were roughed up. One young man was beaten with a flashlight and blackjacks. His face was a mass of blood. Guests appealed to the man who seemed to be in charge to take him to a hospital. At that point a wild-eyed member of the raiding party began shooting in the air in the crowded room.

Then all hell broke loose. Separated families rushed to find their loved ones. Husbands and wives who had been separated in the confusion ran to see if anyone had been hurt. Older people instinctively ran to protect some of the young girls and students.

One woman pleaded with the wild man with the gun to put it away before he hurts someone.

The man shouting orders the loudest was asked why they were doing this. He said, "This party is over. We're going to clear everybody out of here." He was told, "If you'll get your men out of here this hall can be cleared in five minutes." But he ignored the proposal.

Filthy Cells

A contingent of uniformed city police arrived on the scene. Thirty persons were arbitrarily arrested and herded into police wagons and cars and taken to the Fifth Precinct police station near University Circle. There they were booked, finger-printed and photographed. Four, five and six persons were placed in single-bunk cells. Two women were ordered to strip completely and were searched. No one was told what he was charged with or permitted to make any phone calls.

Hours later they were handcuffed and transferred by police wagon to Central Police Station downtown. Here the cell blocks were nauseatingly filthy. Toilet bowls in each cell looked and

smelled as though they had not been cleaned in weeks. Dirty old rancid doughnuts, used paper coffee cups and other food remains littered the place.

Finally, at 6:15 a.m. one woman's request to use the phone was granted. She called an attorney. By 7:15 she and her daughter were released on personal recognizance bond.

By 6 p.m. all thirty were out of jail. Some had not slept for 24 hours. But hungry, tired, dirty, bruised, worried, all but a few who were too sick, went right back to Debs Hall. By then friends had cleaned up the mess the raiders had left.

Defense Committee

The defendants who came together after their nightmarish experience were a heterogeneous group. Some were students, some teachers, some housewives, factory workers, members of various professions. Some were socialists, some active in the civil rights movement or the antiwar movement. Most were simply people who had attended the Militant Forum at one time or another.

But all were indignant. They had seen a peaceful social event raided by hoodlums who broke it up, created a disorder, arrested them and then charged them with "disorderly assembly"; brutally attacked several of the guests then charged their victims with assault.

Although the charges against them are misdemeanors which provide relatively small fines, all agreed such scandalous abuse of police power must not go unchallenged. Such tactics must be stopped now.

All thirty defendants pleaded not guilty to the charges against them in court the next morning, and set up a defense committee to assure competent legal defense for everyone so that none will be victimized by lack of funds for attorney's fees or court costs.

Friday night a meeting of the defendants was held in Debs Hall and the Committee to Aid the Debs Hall Defendants was organized. The committee wants no martyrs. It wants justice.

Contributions for the legal defense may be sent to Glenn Simpson, financial secretary, at 7619 Wade Park Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103.

Militant Labor Forum Hears Paul Sweezy on Guatemala

NEW YORK — Paul Sweezy, co-editor of the independent socialist magazine *Monthly Review*, spoke before a packed hall at the Militant Labor Forum here Nov. 20. "The Lessons of the Guatemalan Revolution" was his subject.

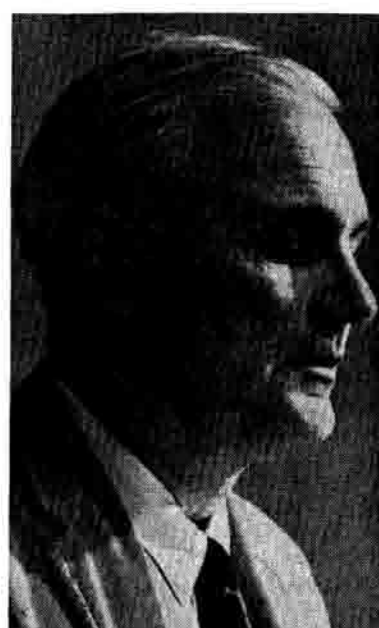
Sweezy outlined the history of the movement for social change in Guatemala and drew on the experience of the Cuban Revolution and other events in Latin America to point out the perspectives for revolution in the underdeveloped world generally and South America in particular.

Sweezy stated his agreement with the position on the role of the national bourgeoisie taken by Adolfo Gilly, the journalist who has written about the Guatemalan guerrilla movement in the *Monthly Review*. The national bourgeoisie is completely tied to imperialism and fears any kind of revolution, he said.

The speaker pointed out that in underdeveloped countries the institution of reforms has an inner logic of development — each step tends to bring about the next more radical step. This was seen in its clearest form in Cuba, Sweezy continued. Castro learned the lesson of Guatemala where the army turned against the government after it had begun a program of land reform. The destruction of the Batista army took the brake off the radicalization of the reform movement.

The U.S. bourgeoisie learned this lesson too. They understand the nature of the state, said Sweezy, better than many of his Marxist friends.

There is no possibility of solving the problems of underdeveloped countries short of a revolutionary reconstruction of them,



Paul Sweezy

said the Marxist scholar. The only alternative to revolution is degeneration and starvation. Yet a revolution in a single small country like Guatemala could not succeed because the United States would intervene, he declared. Success depends upon the thoroughgoing internationalization of the revolution.

Though the United States could prevent a revolution from taking power in one or two small countries, it does not have the power to stop a revolution that spread through all of Latin America — or if that proved an insufficient scale, through Asia and Africa as well. Such a movement would take at least one or more decades to develop, Sweezy conjectured.

Weekly Calendar

AD RATES

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten per cent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

BOSTON

CUBA: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT. A talk with slides by Bill Sacks, participant in student Cuba trip 1964. Fri., Dec. 3, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Rm. 307, (one block from Mass. Ave.) Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

EYEWITNESS REPORT: CUBA'S POLITICS AND LEADERS. An analysis by Peter Masson, Canadian socialist who visited Cuba, summer 1965. Fri., Dec. 3, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION ON FILM: FALN, only existing film on the Venezuelan guerrillas; **Death to the Invader**, film on the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. Fri., Dec. 3, 8:30 p.m. Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly commentary. Tues., Dec. 7, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed., Dec. 8, 9 a.m.) KPFF-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK

THE WASHINGTON ANTI-VIETNAM WAR CONVENTION. A report by Doug Jenness, editor of the Young Socialist. Fri., Dec. 3, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Save Sat., Dec. 11 for **BANQUET TO HONOR E. D. NIXON**, organizer of the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott. 116 University Pl. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Your Help Is Needed

Beginning January 1966, the Post Office requires that we include the zip code number with all subscribers' addresses. If we don't have yours, would you please drop us a card at once. We can't promise it will improve speed of delivery but it will help us avoid unnecessary headaches.

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THE TORTURE OF MOTHERS by Truman Nelson. The Garrison Press, 15 Olive Street, Newburyport, Mass., 1965, 121 pp., \$1.

Truman Nelson has performed an important service in recounting the story of six young men in Harlem who were recently framed up by racist police for the murder of a white storekeeper.

Nelson allows the people involved to speak for themselves. Much of what happened is told by the mothers of the "Harlem Six." The horrible crimes committed against the teen-agers by the vicious, bigoted police and the suffering the young men's mothers endured so heroically come through vividly in the straight-forward accounts of eyewitnesses.

Wallace Baker, Daniel Hamm, Robert Rice, Willie Craig, Walter Thomas, and Ronald Felder, all in their late teens when the events described in the book took place, were convicted of murder and sentenced to 20 years in prison this fall. Arrested in April 1964, they were never released from jail while awaiting trial. Nelson, who wrote the book in the autumn of 1964 while they were awaiting trial, wasn't even allowed to speak with the young men.

But he did have a taped interview two of them made for HAR-YOU in which they told about the "fruit stand" incident which preceded the murder charges. He interviewed Frank Stafford, whose eye was knocked out by a policeman in the same incident. These and interviews with other witnesses to the events, as well as the

mothers and other relatives of the young men, are the most valuable parts of the book.

Nelson explains how the New York newspapers, led by the *New York Times*, created the hoax about a gang in Harlem called the "Blood Brothers," allegedly organized to kill whites. He exposes the lying reports in the press that associated the six victims of the police with this mythical gang.

While many white people in the North are outraged by the stories of police brutality against Negroes in the South, few have any real conception of what the situation in the North is for Negroes. Most white people will find what is recorded in this book shocking. It shows that New York's police are as brutal, racist and unscrupulous as those in the South — though they are more sophisticated and less public about it.

The book should be read by all who want to understand how the cops behave in Northern ghettos. If it is widely circulated, it should prove to be an effective weapon in mobilizing support for the release of the victims.

—Herman Porter

Does your local library have a subscription to THE MILITANT? If not, why not suggest that they obtain one. Librarians are often pleased to have patrons call their attention to publications that they should have available.

Reply to Harrington, Rustin, Howe, et al

Negotiate or Get Out?

By Fred Halstead

One of the important questions before the new antiwar movement is what concrete proposals it should make for ending the war in Vietnam, and what demands it should make on the U.S. government. A great many slogans have been raised in the course of the various demonstrations by the peace movement, but in general, one central difference has appeared. That is the difference between those who advocate immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam and those who insist that the war be ended by a "negotiated settlement."

Of course, talk is better than killing and almost all wars end in some sort of negotiations. In that sense no one is opposed to negotiations as such. But it is clear on the face of it that those willing to call for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops are unequivocal in their opposition to U.S. involvement in the war while those who insist on a "negotiated settlement" are not unequivocal and may have something quite the opposite in mind. This is certainly the case with President Johnson, who says he is for a negotiated settlement, and then sends out the bombers, napalm villages, and ships thousands of additional GI's into the slaughter on the excuse that he is trying to create a climate for negotiations.

Two Articles

A pair of sophisticated articles on this question have recently appeared by advocates of the "negotiated settlement" position. One, appearing in the Nov. 25 *New York Review of Books*, is entitled "The Vietnam Protest" and is signed by Irving Howe, editor of *Dissent* magazine; Bayard Rustin, of the A. Philip Randolph Institute; Lewis Coser, of PAX; Penn Kimble, chairman of the New York Students for a Democratic Society; and Michael Harrington, chairman of the board of the League for Industrial Democracy. (They all signed as individuals, not as representatives of organizations.) The other article appeared in the Nov. 11 *Village Voice* of New York and was written by Harrington alone. It is entitled: "Does the Peace Movement Need the Communists?"

The article signed by all five declares: "We believe there is a possibility of building a significant protest movement against the current policy in Vietnam. Such a movement would require agreement upon a reasonable program of 'demands' appropriate to the present situation; it would require an appeal to large numbers of people not yet involved in any protest actions, including some in the labor, Negro, church, and academic communities who lend formal assent to the Johnson policy but might be persuaded to support specific proposals leading to

a peaceful settlement in Vietnam." (Emphasis added.)

One thing wrong with this point is that it lumps together the millions of ordinary Americans who are already opposed to Johnson's policies — and who can be involved in the antiwar movement on that basis — with elements who still support the war.

Another thing wrong is that it fails to make an extremely important distinction. There are still large masses of ordinary decent Americans who go along with the administration in Vietnam because they are bombarded with hysterical anti-communist propaganda and lies, and just do not know the truth about what is going on in Vietnam. Then there are those — like certain figures in the "labor, Negro, church and academic communities" — who know very well what's going on but who support the policy because they, like Johnson, believe in the great holy anti-communist crusade first, and peace second. The new antiwar movement should tailor its demands to reach, involve and educate the first group, and shouldn't waste its effort trying to avoid alienating the second.

There are already in existence organizations whose peace activ-



Bayard Rustin

ities are confined within the bounds of cold-war policies and anti-communism, and who have been trying for years to convince various sections of the power structure and the administration that the best way to fight the holy war for U.S. hegemony in the world is with a little less blood and nuclear danger. That is the line of Turn Toward Peace and the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. That is the line which dominated the "old" peace movement for years while it went along with SANE's blackmail to split the movement if it did anything to seriously embarrass the administration.

As a matter of fact, in the traditional Easter Peace Walks organized by the old peace movement in the earlier years of U.S. escalation in Vietnam, the very mention of the Vietnam war was prohibited precisely because SANE insisted this would embarrass the administration too much. It was this shameful spectacle of a "peace" movement that wouldn't even expose and oppose the immoral war its own country was involved in that gave birth to the new anti-Vietnam-war movement.

The new movement began with the SDS call to the April 17 March on Washington, which told the truth about U.S. aggression in Vietnam. And the new movement has operated on that basis ever since, as well as on the basis of non-exclusion and opposition to red baiting. It broke through the apathy curtain on the Vietnam issue. After that, even SANE, Howe, Harrington, Rustin, etc. made a point of publicly criti-

cizing Johnson's Vietnam policies. That's progress, but it doesn't entitle the pro-cold-war peace organizations and figures to re-establish domination of the movement, or to impose their particular sectarian anti-communist line on the movement. They are part of the movement as a whole, but they do not own it.

Howe, Harrington, etc. continue in their article: "One prerequisite for such a movement is that it clearly indicate that its purpose is to end a cruel and futile war, not to give explicit or covert political support to the Vietcong. This is both a tactical necessity and a moral obligation, since any ambiguity on this score makes impossible, as well as undesired, the support of large numbers of the American people." (Emphasis added.)

Double Talk

This is a very oily statement. On the one hand it purports to be advice on making the movement broad enough to be a serious factor in ending the war. On the other it clearly implies that if the antiwar movement doesn't cater to the particular sectarian attitude of these gentlemen by adopting an unambiguous position of no sympathy with the Vietnamese revolutionaries, it deserves no support. But why does the movement have to adopt any position on the National Liberation Front in order to oppose U.S. involvement in the war?

Howe, Harrington, etc. imply that there are only two alternatives: a negotiated settlement, or support for the "Vietcong." In his own article, Harrington makes this point more clearly. He argues against the idea of demonstrating around slogans of the lowest common denominator (such as "End The War") by saying:

"In effect this approach says that the way the war is ended is not a basic issue. It proposes that the partisans of a Vietcong victory and those who favor a negotiated peace blur their differences."

But these are not the only alternatives. It is not necessary to restrict the movement only to those who are for a victory of the guerrillas on the one hand or only those for a "negotiated settlement" on the other. It is also possible to simply say that the quickest surest way to end the war is to withdraw U.S. forces from Vietnam now.

Howe-Harrington never mention the withdrawal of U.S. forces. And it's not because they never thought of it. They think of everything. We can only assume that they are opposed to that course of action, and are opposed to the peace movement using that demand.

Moral Right?

The war, of course, may very well end through negotiations. If the National Liberation Front or Hanoi wish and are able to enter into negotiations, that is their right. It is they who are under the gun. But for Americans to insist that the halt of U.S. aggression depend on negotiations is another matter. It implies that the U.S. has some legal or moral right in Vietnam. What, after all, is to be negotiated by the U.S. if not how much of the U.S. force is to stay in Vietnam, for how long and for what purpose?

The very demand for negotiations tends to obscure the fact that the U.S. is the aggressor in the situation and has no business there at all. With all due regard for the sincere feelings of many peace-loving Americans who raise demands for various kinds of negotiations in Vietnam, it must be said that all these demands — all of them — reveal a certain American arrogance toward the people of Asia. For the very idea of the



SHOOT-EM-UP JOHNSON. An antiwar artist's view of the president as displayed at workshop during Washington Assembly of Unrepresented People last August.

U.S. "negotiating" anything in Vietnam is a direct violation of the sovereignty of that country and of the right of self-determination of the Vietnamese people.

There is something of the racist psychology of the "white man's burden" in all such demands, including those for the U.S. to negotiate for UN supervision, "neutrality" for North or South Vietnam, a new "democratic" government in South Vietnam, and all the rest. When Americans make such proposals they forget they are not citizens of Vietnam. They are in effect saying that the Vietnamese are not entitled to settle their own problems in their own way, good or bad, and that the U.S. government does have a right to be a military factor in the affairs of another country.

Another argument often raised in favor of demands for negotiations is that concrete steps must be offered as to how to end the war. The simplest, most effective concrete step is obviously the withdrawal of U.S. troops. That is the only thing that would end it immediately. But the argument is made that the U.S. obviously wouldn't accept that and the government must be offered steps by which it could save face.

Force Decision

In their call to the Nov. 27 March on Washington, the forces around SANE present a list of such steps, in addition to a few "white man's burden" type of proposals. It may be that when the U.S. government finds itself in an untenable situation in the Vietnam war, it will extricate itself through a similar series of steps. But the problem of the antiwar movement is not to offer advice and comfort to the administration on how it can save face. The government has hired experts to do that. The problem is to help create the conditions which will force the government to make the decision to withdraw. Johnson is not staying in Vietnam because he cannot figure out how to back away; he is staying there because he hasn't made the decision to back away.

He's not going to make that decision unless he's forced to; forced by military difficulties; forced by international pressure; forced by the opposition of millions of Americans to keeping the GI's in the slaughter. One of the most powerful forces of all can be the desire of the U.S. troops themselves to come home.

Howe, Harrington, etc. claim the demands they suggest — which are almost identical to those made by SANE — will have the broadest appeal. But the most "moderate" demands are not always the most popular. In the present situation the demand with the widest potential appeal to ordinary Americans — though not to professional cold warriors — is the

demand for bringing the soldiers home from Vietnam.

It is a demand which appeals to the great mass of Americans who are disturbed by the war. It can be readily understood by anyone, even by non-political people. It appeals to the young men eligible for the draft, to the men already in the army, to their relatives and friends. It puts the antiwar movement clearly on the side of the troops and cuts through the propaganda attempts to isolate the antiwar movement from the troops. It is a demand around which millions of Americans might be mobilized — regardless of their political or philosophical views — and which has the best chance to evoke a sympathetic response among the GI's in Vietnam themselves.

Sharp Critique

At the same time that it is a broad, popular demand, it is also the sharpest possible critique of administration policy. It gives no room for equivocation. For this very reason it will be rejected by those who would subordinate the fight for peace to their cold-war policies, to their anti-communist hysteria, or to their opportunism.

Many thoughtful people in the new antiwar movement are concerned that the movement should not lose its cutting edge; that it should deepen as well as broaden the opposition to the war; and that the movement as a whole should not fall back under the domination of those who are obsessed with the desire to avoid confrontation with the liberal politicians and the administration.

In this respect the program of withdrawal can be a key factor in determining the general character of those sections of the movement which embrace it. It is the bridge between the students and the workers and the troops. And it is the program for ending the war around which the movement can be built right now while much of its appeal is still to student radicals because it clearly distinguishes between those who are willing to flatly oppose administration policies and those who are not.

WATTS
AND
HARLEM

**The Rising Revolt
In the Black Ghettos**

**by Robert Vernon
and George Novack**

25c

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Monday, November 29, 1965

... Antiwar Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

cussions and plans of the antiwar movement as a whole. At the present time, radical and established peace organizations tend to dominate such discussions while this largest section is not really represented. A national organization of the independent committees would give this section its proper voice and place within national and local coordinating committees, united fronts, and the movement as a whole.

There has been a discussion about whether the independent committees should stick to the issue of the Vietnam war or become involved in other social issues. We believe that the single issue of the war should remain the focus of the committees, and that all who agree on this one issue, regardless of their position on any other issue, should be encouraged to join. In this way, the largest movement possible against the war can be organized, since the addition of other planks would narrow the committees.

Another important question facing the committees is what general stand they should take on how to end the war. We believe that the independent committees should base themselves on the demand that the U.S. withdraw its troops from Vietnam immediately.

The principle of self-determination for Vietnam is widely held by members of the independent committees. To be for self-determination means to be for U.S. withdrawal, as opposed to "negotiations." The U.S. has no right to negotiate the future of Vietnam, and no right to use its troops to force a "solution" upon the Vietnamese people in any future negotiations.

The demand for withdrawal of U.S. troops would clearly separate the independent committees from Johnson's policy, and make it clear that they are opposed to his policy. It would also differentiate the committees from such groups as SANE, who call upon Johnson to negotiate, and are not opposed to U.S. interference in the affairs of the Vietnamese people.

The most realistic way to end the war is the withdrawal of U.S. troops. Raising this demand also puts the U.S. government under maximum pressure from the antiwar movement. It is a demand which can unite the militant students with the growing numbers of Americans who want to stop the slaughter of American boys, and with the soldiers in Vietnam.

The McCarran Frame-Up Act

Partisans of civil liberties were encouraged when the Supreme Court ruled that individuals could not be penalized for refusing to step forward to register the Communist Party as an agency of a foreign power as demanded under the McCarran Internal Security Act.

Yet this ruling did not deter the Justice Department from pushing through its Washington trial of the Communist Party where the party was convicted of failing to register and fined \$230,000. The sole legal basis for the conviction was that several professional stool pigeons — paid employees of the government — said they were willing to register the party!

The Communist Party will appeal this frame-up conviction and the appeal should be supported by every defender of the Bill of Rights. The McCarran Act is an unconstitutional curb on political liberties. It is based on the monstrous witch-hunt hoax of an "international communist conspiracy" which has been the keystone of McCarthyism and war-mongering.

It has not only curbed the political liberties of the direct targets of the attack but also served effectively to inhibit others from exercising their democratic rights.

China, the UN and the U.S.

The United States suffered a well-deserved diplomatic setback when it was unable to muster no better than a 47-47 vote in the United Nations against admission of the People's Republic of China. The *New York Times* was moved to comment editorially that: "It is clear that in a roll-call free from diplomatic pressures a majority of the 117 UN members would vote to admit Communist China . . . The result could hardly be called a 'victory' for the United States."

Commentators are generally agreed that by the next session of the UN the U.S. will no longer be able to keep China out. We hope that is so. But it should be clearly understood that Washington is determined to continue its stubborn drive to isolate China, politically and economically, as part of its campaign to roll back the Asian revolution and to eventually crush the Chinese revolution itself, even if it means risking an atomic holocaust.

U.S. financial and business interests may have a stake in such a program of counter-revolutionary containment, but the great bulk of the American people do not.

We should all press for a policy of peace with China. This would mean an end to U.S. efforts to keep China out of the UN, recognition of the Chinese government, withdrawal of the Seventh Fleet, dismantling of the military bases ringing China, and the establishment of normal political and trade relations.

Malcolm X Speaks

The following is a continuation of a speech made at a CORE symposium in Cleveland on April 3, 1964, shortly after Malcolm left the Black Muslims. The first speaker was the writer, Louis Lomax.

Installment 6

A NEW INTERPRETATION

The Dixiecrats in Washington, D. C., control the key committees that run the government. The only reason the Dixiecrats control these committees is because they have seniority. The only reason they have seniority is because they come from states where Negroes can't vote. This is not even a government that's based on democracy. It is not a government that is made up of representatives of the people. Half of the people in the South can't even vote. Eastland is not even supposed to be in Washington. Half of the senators and congressmen who occupy these key positions in Washington, D.C., are there illegally, are there unconstitutionally.

And the Constitution itself has within it the machinery to expel any representative from a state where the voting rights of the people are violated. You don't even need new legislation. Any person in Congress right now, who is there from a state or a district where the voting rights of the people are violated, that particular person should be expelled from Congress. And when you expel him, you've removed one of the obstacles in the path of any real meaningful legislation in this country. In fact, when you expel them, you don't need new legislation, because they will be replaced by black representatives from counties and districts where the black man is in the majority, not in the minority.

I say again, I'm not anti-Democrat, I'm not anti-Republican, I'm not anti-anything. I'm just questioning their sincerity, and some of the strategy that they've been using on our people by promising them promises that they don't intend to keep. When you keep the Democrats in power, you're keeping the Dixiecrats in power. I doubt that my good Brother Lomax will deny that. A vote for a Democrat is a vote for a Dixiecrat. That's why, in 1964, it's time now for you and me to become more politically mature and realize what the ballot is for; what we're supposed to get when we cast a ballot; and that if we don't cast a ballot, it's going to end up in a situation where we're going to have to cast a bullet. It's either a ballot or a bullet.

Different Way

In the North, they do it a different way. They have a system that's known as gerrymandering, whatever that means. It means when Negroes become too heavily concentrated in a certain area, and begin to gain too much political power, the white man comes along and changes the district lines. You may say, "Why do you keep saying white man?" Because it's the white man who does it. I haven't ever seen any Negro changing any lines. They don't let him get near the line. It's the white man who does this. And usually, it's the white man who grins at you the most, and pats you on the back, and is supposed to be your friend. He may be friendly, but he's not your friend.

So, what I'm trying to impress upon you, in essence, is this: You and I in America are faced not with a segregationist conspiracy, we're faced with a government conspiracy. Everyone who's filibustering is a senator — that's the government. Everyone who's finagling in Washington, D.C., is a congressman — that's the gov-



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ernment. You don't have anybody putting blocks in your path but people who are a part of the government. The same government that you go abroad to fight for and die for is the government that is in a conspiracy to deprive you of your voting rights, deprive you of your economic opportunities, deprive you of decent housing, deprive you of decent education.

You don't need to go to the employer alone, it is the government itself, the government of America, that is responsible for the oppression and exploitation and degradation of black people in this country. And you should drop it in their lap. This government has failed the Negro. This so-called democracy has failed the Negro. And all these white liberals have definitely failed the Negro.

Need Allies

So, where do we go from here? First, we need some friends. We need some new allies. The entire civil-rights struggle needs a new interpretation, a broader interpretation. We need to look at this civil-rights thing from another angle — from the inside as well as from the outside. To those of us whose philosophy is black nationalism, the only way you can get involved in the civil-rights struggle is give it a new interpretation. That old interpretation excluded us. It kept us out. So, we're giving a new interpretation to the civil-rights struggle, an interpretation that will enable us to come into it, take part in it. And these handkerchief-heads who have been dilly-dallying and pussyfooting and compromising — we don't intend to let them pussyfoot and dilly-dally and compromise any longer.

How can you thank a man for giving you what's already yours? How then can you thank him for giving you only part of what's already yours? You haven't even made progress, if what's being given to you, you should have had already. That's not progress. And I love my Brother Lomax, the way he pointed out we're right back where we were in 1954. We're not even as far up as we were in 1954. We're behind where we were in 1954. There's more segregation now than there was in 1954. There's more racial animosity, more racial hatred, more racial violence today in 1964, than there was in 1954. Where is the progress?

And now you're facing a situation where the young Negro's coming up. They don't want to hear that "turn-the-other-cheek" stuff, no. In Jacksonville, those were teenagers, they were throw-

ing Molotov cocktails. Negroes have never done that before. But it shows you there's a new deal coming in. There's new thinking coming in. There's new strategy coming in. It'll be Molotov cocktails this month, hand grenades next month, and something else next month. It'll be ballots, or it'll be bullets. It'll be liberty, or it will be death.

The only difference about this kind of death — it'll be reciprocal. You know what is meant by "reciprocal"? That's one of Brother Lomax's words, I stole it from him. I don't usually deal with those big words because I don't usually deal with big people. I deal with small people. I find you can get a whole lot of small people and whip hell out of a whole lot of big people. They haven't got anything to lose, and they've got everything to gain. And they'll let you know in a minute: "It takes two to tango; when I go, you go."

New Interpretation

The black nationalists, those whose philosophy is black nationalism, in bringing about this new interpretation of the entire meaning of civil rights, look upon it as meaning, as Brother Lomax has pointed out, equality of opportunity. Well, we're justified in seeking civil rights, if it means equality of opportunity, because all we're doing there is trying to collect for our investment. Our mothers and fathers invested sweat and blood. Three hundred and ten years we worked in this country without a dime in return — I mean without a dime in return. You let the white man walk around here talking about how rich this country is, but you never stop to think how it got rich so quick. It got rich because you made it rich.

You take the people who are in this audience right now. They're poor, we're all poor as individuals. Our weekly salary individually amounts to hardly anything. But if you take the salary of everyone in here collectively it'll fill up a whole lot of baskets. It's a lot of wealth. If you can collect the wages of just these people right here for a year, you'll be rich — richer than rich.

When you look at it like that, think how rich Uncle Sam had to become, not with this handful, but millions of black people. Your and my mother and father, who don't work any eight hour shift, but worked from "can't see" in the morning until "can't see" at night, and worked for nothing, making the white man rich, making Uncle Sam rich.

This is our investment. This is our contribution — our blood. Not only did we give of our free labor, we gave of our blood. Every time he had a call to arms, we were the first ones in uniform. We died on every battlefield the white man had. We have made a greater sacrifice than anybody who's standing up in America today. We have made a greater contribution and have collected less. Civil rights, for those of us whose philosophy is black nationalism, means: "Give it to us now. Don't wait for next year. Give it to us yesterday, and that's not fast enough."

Next week: Take Uncle Sam to Court.

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

16 pages 15 cents

Pioneer Publishers
5 East Third St.
New York, N. Y. 10003

Peru Guerrilla Leader Reported Slain by Army

(World Outlook) — Luis de la Puente, head of one of the guerrilla fronts in Peru, was killed Oct. 23, according to a press release issued by the general staff of the Peruvian army. The communiqué said that the guerrilla leader, together with seven others, attacked a small ranch in the department of Cuzco, killing three peasants.

All eight freedom fighters were then killed by government troops as "they sought to flee."

In view of the decree passed by the Fernando Belaúnde Terry government last August providing the death penalty for anyone caught with arms in his possession, it may well be that the eight guerrilla fighters were captured and then simply butchered by the government troops. "Shot while trying to flee" is the standard Latin-American formula used to cover up the cold-blooded execution of prisoners.

The government claimed that the death of Luis de la Puente signifies the end of guerrilla fighting in the eastern part of Peru. Similar claims have been made repeatedly by government officials since last spring when the guerrilla struggle again took on fresh life after dying down for several years.

A Blow

The Paris daily *Le Monde* (Oct. 26), for instance, while agreeing that the death of Luis de la Puente "dealt a heavy blow to the insurrection," held that this did not necessarily mean the end of "extremist subversive activities," as claimed by the government. "It is not known if one of his lieutenants is now able to take the leadership in the maquis [guerrilla group] in the department of Cuzco."

"But," continues *Le Monde*, "three other guerrilla groups of the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left] are continuing their revolutionary activities in any case. This includes the one in Junin, headed by Guillermo Lobatón, and in Huancavelica headed by J. Paredes, both of them between Lima and Cuzco, and the maquis of Ayabaca, led by E. Portocarrero, in the north of the country, near the Ecuador border."

Le Monde also notes that guerrilla activities increased to such an extent over the summer months that the Peruvian government not only decreed the death sentence for carrying arms, but resorted to the use of napalm.

Small items have continually appeared in the press in the past month concerning the indiscriminate dumping of napalm in the areas where guerrilla fighting has been going on.

Leader of APRA

De la Puente has been variously reported as 35 years old and 40 years old. He was a leading figure in the APRA [American Popular Revolutionary Alliance] of Haya de la Torre, a former anti-imperialist movement that at one time came close to communism.

With the victory of the Cuban Revolution, there was big pressure among the rank and file of the APRA to follow Cuba's example. Haya de la Torre, now an aging figure, decided against it, turning sharply to the right and becoming a more and more open supporter of U.S. imperialism.

The left wing of the APRA thereupon split away to form "APRA Rebelde." De la Puente was one of its leading figures. This grouping eventually formed the MIR. It sought to bring the various groupings in the Peruvian left together on the basis of a revolutionary program committed to following the Cuban example. The MIR was particularly friendly with the Peruvian Trotskyists and

Sweezy Confirms De la Puente Death

NEW YORK — In his lecture at the Militant Labor Forum, Monthly Review editor Paul Sweezy reported that friends in Buenos Aires had confirmed that Luis de la Puente had been killed by the Peruvian government.

An article by de la Puente on Peru appears in the November issue of Monthly Review.

they worked closely together on some issues.

The Peruvian Trotskyists, headed by Hugo Blanco, the well-known peasant leader, had differences with the MIR on the question of guerrilla warfare as well as party building. The Trotskyists maintain that guerrilla warfare cannot be substituted for solid organization of the peasants into unions around the slogan of "Land to those who till it."

The Junin front was reported by the *Santiago, Chile, El Mercurio* (Sept. 4) to be headed by Guillermo Lobatón, whom it described as a 30-year-old student of law, "married to a French girl, a former student of the Sorbonne." Lobatón, said *El Mercurio*, visited "Russia, Algeria, Vietnam and Red China." He was "a member of the Fourth International (and of the Communist party) before joining the MIR." His lieutenant, Máximo Lazo, is a Huancayo journalist without any known militant past.

Due to the censorship existing in Peru under successive extensions of a "state of siege," the fighters in the Andes face exceptional difficulties in counteracting the lying propaganda of the reactionary Peruvian government. However, their movement appears to be attracting sympathy among the peasants despite grievous losses in the fighting.

By Harry Ring

The movement to end the war in Vietnam has the responsibility and opportunity to expose and counteract the enormous amount of lies being told to the American people by the government.

Lies are an essential ingredient of U.S. foreign policy. This is so because U.S. foreign policy is reactionary and popular support cannot be won for reactionary policies by simply describing them as they are.

Washington could not be realistically expected to frankly tell the American people that the keystone of its foreign policy is to make the world safe for the private profit system. Nor can it be expected to tell the people that, in order to preserve capitalism where it still exists and to restore it where it has been eliminated, the U.S. is ready, willing and able to spy on governments, organize plots to overthrow them from within, organize armies to attack them from without, and use its armed forces to crush popular movements in other countries.

Since the unvarnished truth cannot be told about such a policy, a whole fabric of lies must be woven about the menace of an "international communist conspiracy"; spies become "counter-intelligence" agents; organizers of subversion become supporters of "freedom fighters" and armies of intervention become defenders of helpless people against "foreign aggressors."

U-2 Incident

In 1953 the American people were given their first significant indication in recent times of how the government can carry out reactionary deeds in violation of international law and then lie about it. That was when it became known that the CIA had organized an army to overthrow the legally elected Arbenz government in Guatemala. The "crime" of the Arbenz government was that it projected a very modest land reform program which might cost United Fruit Co. a few dollars.

A profound shock for a good part of the American people came in 1960 with the U-2 incident



Lyndon Johnson

when it was revealed before the world that President Eisenhower, whose "father image" enveloped the country, was a liar.

And the country's liberal community was deeply shocked on the day of the Cuba invasion when Adlai Stevenson stood in the United Nations and declared with a straight face that the United States had nothing to do with it.

Two of the most recent exposures of governmental lying to the people involve Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

Concerning Vietnam, we have the case of the President of the United States telling the people of this country and the world that he was ready to sit down any time, any place, to negotiate an end to the Vietnam war — while a whole section of the diplomatic world and the press knew he was lying, knew that the North Vietnamese had offered through U Thant to negotiate and that the U.S. had rejected the offer out of hand.

Columnist Joseph Alsop, an enthusiastic supporter of U.S. intervention in Vietnam and a consistent apologist for the administration, cynically explained Nov. 19: "The truth is that the President made his original offer of

'unconditional' negotiations, and has since repeated that offer, for the main purpose of disarming the domestic and foreign critics of his Vietnamese policy."

Along with this exposure we have the revelations by Senator Fulbright confirming that the U.S. sent the Marines into the Dominican Republic not to save the lives of American citizens but to save the rule of a reactionary military junta and to bar the return of legally elected President Juan Bosch.

When Fulbright originally reported to the Senate the findings of his Foreign Relations Committee, the Johnson administration opened a virulent campaign against him, virtually suggesting he was guilty of treason.

Dummied Up

Then the State Department wrote a white paper designed to defend the Dominican intervention but decided that silence was the better part of wisdom and withheld the paper because of fear that it might provoke Fulbright into releasing still more of the evidence in his hands about the real U.S. role in the Dominican Republic.

The revelations about Johnson's refusal to negotiate while mouthing pious phrases about peace and Fulbright's indictment of the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic lift only a small corner of the curtain that carefully conceals from the American people the real reasons why GIs are dying abroad.

One of the most important and effective things that the antiwar movement can do is to carefully collect all the facts that do become available, assemble them into a meaningful picture and then proceed with an energetic drive to bring these facts to a maximum number of the American people. The antiwar movement has just scratched the surface of the people who can be reached with the truth.

It will be well worth the effort. The people of this country in their great majority are dedicated to the concepts of truth, fair play and justice. Given the truth, large numbers of them will be moved to act.

NEW YORK BANQUET HELPS RALLY SUPPORT

Authors Press Expose of Rosenberg Frame-Up

By Herman Porter

NEW YORK — A Banquet for Freedom was held here by the Sobell Committee on Nov. 20 to honor Walter and Miriam Schneir, authors of *Invitation to an Inquest*, and to raise support for the effort to free Morton Sobell from prison. Over 250 people attended the banquet.

The speakers pointed out the enormous political importance of the Rosenberg-Sobell case and drew the parallel between this frame-up and the notorious Dreyfus case in France. They recounted much evidence, especially about the reception of *Invitation to an Inquest* which documents the frame-up, to show that the atmosphere in this country has changed sufficiently to make the success of a campaign to free Morton Sobell a realistic possibility.

Mrs. Rose Sobell, Morton Sobell's mother, spoke briefly of a visit she had with her son in November and how he bore 15 years of imprisonment steadfastly and with hope.

Sobell's wife, Helen, told of a month's tour she and the Schneirs had just finished. They spoke to large audiences, she reported. Television and radio were open to them. The energy of many supporters of the case had been revived. She stressed, as did the other speakers, the value of the

Schneirs' book in providing documented proof of the injustice committed against her husband.

Robert Nemiroff, Broadway producer and husband of the late playwright Lorraine Hansberry, gave a moving talk about the significance of the case and about the involvement of his late wife and himself in it.

Miriam Schneir avowed her belief in the complete innocence of the Rosenbergs and Sobell. Though they were made into "American folk demons" in the hysterical

press of the time, they were actually among the heroes of our time, she said.

Walter Schneir raised the question of whether there is a realistic possibility of freeing Morton Sobell. He recounted his experiences in getting the book published as a barometer of the political climate. Though experienced editors told him he would never get a major publisher to handle the book and advised him to publish it abroad, the book was eventually published by the largest publisher in the country.

Schneir read selections from the more than 100 reviews of the book in major publications. They all agreed at the minimum the book cast very serious doubt on the convictions and required a detailed answer by the government. Many of the reviewers were convinced that the Rosenbergs and Sobell had been unjustly convicted.

Spread Facts

"Our most important task is to make the case of Morton Sobell known to millions of Americans," said Schneir. "Freedom for Sobell may indeed be secured."

William Kunstler, civil rights attorney who is participating in the defense of Sobell, announced that a legal petition had been prepared, based on the evidence the Schneirs had uncovered, charging J. Edgar

Hoover and the prosecution with forgery. He mentioned that he had accused Hoover and the FBI of forgery publicly and said: "If he thinks we're lying let him sue me for libel . . . We're saying that J. Edgar and company are forgers, and that's a serious crime."

Fanned Hysteria

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were convicted of stealing "atom bomb secrets" for the Russians and after several years in prison during legal proceedings they were executed in 1953. Morton Sobell was convicted of "conspiracy to commit" espionage and sentenced to 30 years in prison. The case was used to fan the flames of a witch-hunt hysteria that culminated in the rise of Joe McCarthy.

Both Presidents Truman and Eisenhower reviewed the case and refused executive clemency. The Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal. Thus the frame-up of the three victims involves the highest authorities in the government.

In addition to securing an end to the suffering of Morton Sobell, the importance of the case lies in the fact that the exoneration of Sobell and the Rosenbergs would discredit the basis of the anti-communist mythology used to foster the witch hunt.

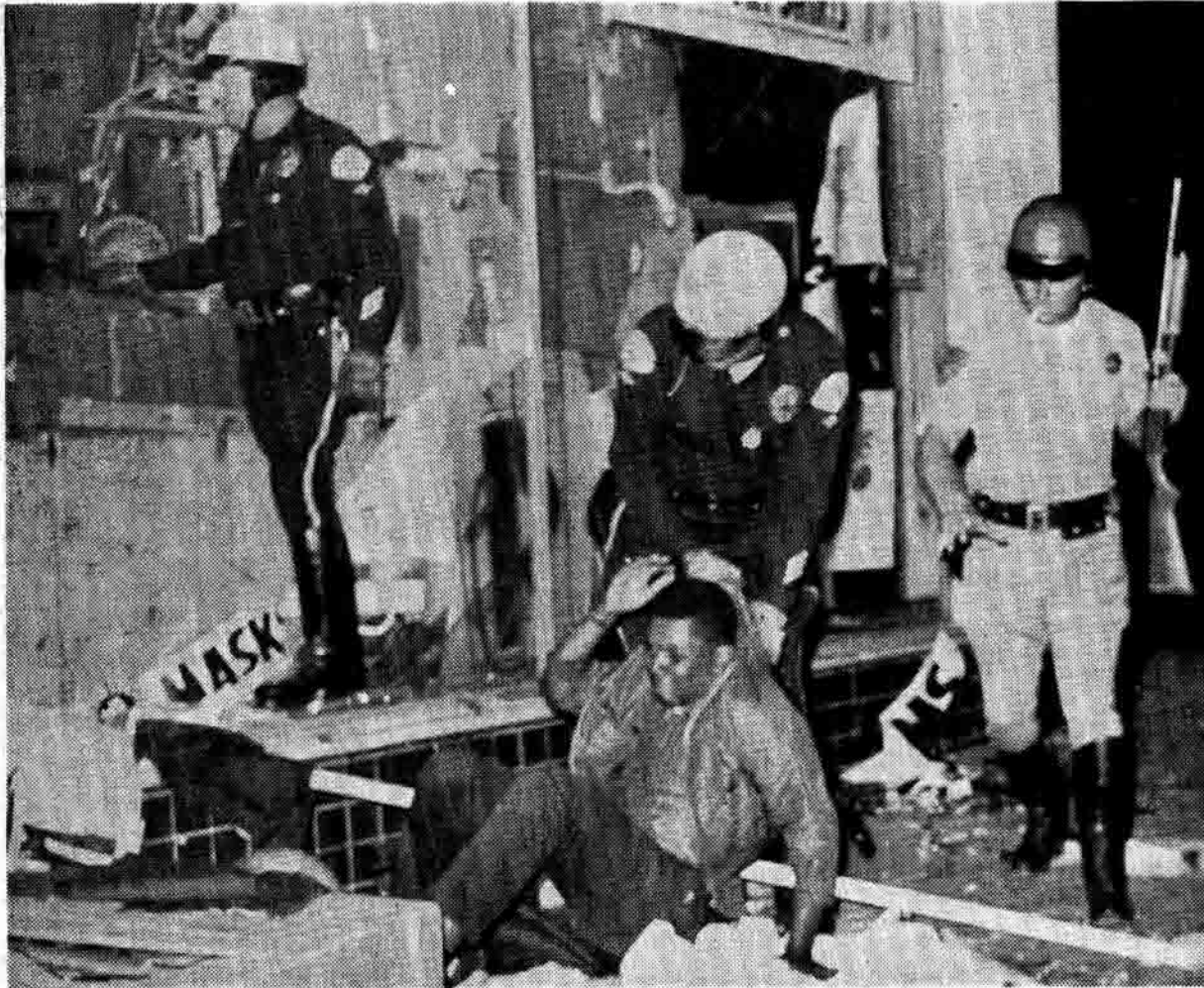
For more information, contact Sobell Committee, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10011.



Morton Sobell

DETROIT PILOT PROJECT

Cops Get Poverty Funds



POLICE BEING ATTACKED? Scene in Watts during last summer's racial explosion. Head of International Association of Police Chiefs says Watts is good example of "brutality against police."

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT — "Garbage," wrote one policeman when asked to evaluate the nation's first in-service training course in police-community relations. About 2000 Detroit police, including patrolmen, sergeants and lieutenants, completed the 20-week training program financed by \$213,222 in federal anti-poverty funds. Richard Marks, director of the city's Commission on Community Relations, said about 40 other cities have expressed interest in holding similar in-service training programs to improve police-citizen relations.

The 20-hour program included eight lectures on topics ranging from law and history to sociology and psychology plus eight case discussions dealing with difficult situations, often involving minority groups, which have confronted policemen. Sitting in on these lectures and discussions were 30 citizens from block clubs and neighborhood groups located in the ghetto area of the inner city. These citizens were there to communicate "to the officers their perceptions and feelings about the problems discussed" and to gain an understanding "of many of the problems facing the police officer in the discharge of his duty."

A questionnaire evaluating the human relations classes was filled out by 1,400 of the participating

policemen. "I caught up on my sleep," wrote one. Another commented, "no help." "Money comes in handy for Christmas," noted one policeman. Officers were paid regular hourly rates for the 20 hours of off-duty classes and this amounted to \$70. Despite these comments from the first group of "human relations graduates" the other half of the Detroit police force is already signing up for a repeat of the 20-week course. (The \$70 will undoubtedly come in handy for Easter).

One Understood

At least one officer student got the main idea of the classes because he wrote, "This was all just to make us aware of the problems of people — and maybe a little more tolerant." Whatever "tolerance" was gained during the classes was counteracted by the remarks of the main speaker at the graduation ceremonies held Oct. 29.

Jeff Rogers, head of the International Association of Police Chiefs, told the group, "We are on the edge of a 20th century age of darkness," because citizens lack respect for the law and falsely accuse policemen of brutality. Rogers said the Watts explosion in Los Angeles was a good example of "brutality against the police." He severely criticized demonstrators who "step over the line" by staging sit-ins at the White House, calling them "beatniks in dirty sweatshirts and what have you."

Police Relations

Three recent incidents in Detroit are indicative of the alienation of the police from ghetto citizens. One incident cited here involved rushing police reinforcements to Mt. Carmel Mercy Hospital and Northwest Station when a crowd protested the shooting of a man who had disarmed a police officer. Another time, police were bombarded by bottles from a crowd of 300 after they had arrested four teenagers. The third incident was provoked when an officer attempted to arrest a prostitute and then drew his revolver on a dozen persons trying to free the prisoner.

Detroit city officials have indi-

cated their idea on how to handle the problem of "disrespect for the law": hold meetings, conferences, classes, have private talks with "community leaders" and issue reams of publicity on "human relations." "Let us understand each other," is the theme and once the police understand the people and the people understand the police — everyone will cooperate with the police who can then forge ahead and do their duty as they see fit.

These are just a bunch of Madison Avenue-type gimmicks designed to leave the police department exactly the way it's always been and to brainwash a few innocent citizens into becoming propagandists for the cops and the city officials. The whole aim of these highly-publicized and praised conferences and classes is phony to the core: to create better understanding and to clear up misunderstandings.

Real Role

The truth of the matter is that the cops and the people of the ghetto understand each other very well. The cops are the brutal naked fists of the rulers of society who profit from the labor and second-class citizenship of the people of the ghetto. The cops understand that they are not the servants of the people — but the servants of the masters of society. And the people know the role of the cops — and they fight back one way or another.

Trial Date Slated In Malcolm X Death

The trial of three men accused of murdering Malcolm X has been scheduled to begin Dec. 6 in New York. The three have been in prison awaiting trial for some nine months.

Thomas Hagan, alias Talmage Hayer, was wounded and apprehended at the scene of the assassination last February. The other two, Norman Butler and Thomas Johnson, were arrested some days later at their homes.

Militant Labor Forum Dinner to Honor Montgomery Bus Boycott Organizer

NEW YORK — A dinner to honor E. D. Nixon, organizer of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, will be held here on Saturday evening, Dec. 11, the tenth anniversary of the beginning of the boycott. Nixon himself will be present for the occasion, sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum.

Until his retirement in 1964, Nixon was the only president of the Montgomery division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a union which he organized. He participated in the labor upsurge of the 1930's, and organized black and white workers into other unions besides his own.

Nixon was the first person to organize Negroes to register to vote in Montgomery. He was the leader of Montgomery branch of the NAACP as well as of his union.

When Rosa Parks was arrested on a Montgomery bus in December 1955 for refusing to give up her seat to a white man, the person she called on for help was E. D. Nixon. It was he who sensed the moment had come for launching a mass protest movement of Negroes in Montgomery. And it was he who had the know-how and the standing to get it started. It was Nixon again who induced

Rev. Martin Luther King to become chairman of the Montgomery Improvement Association. But Nixon remained the organizer of this movement which won the fight to abolish discrimination in bus transportation and which set off the civil rights movement.

The dinner will be held at 116 University Pl. For further information, call AL 5-7852.



E. D. Nixon

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Help Requested For S.C. Negroes

NEW YORK — Rique LeSeur, organizer for the Friends of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, has requested that aid be sent to the Negro community in St. George, S.C. The community has been harassed by white racists since civil rights workers from CORE began organizing there. Food and clothing should be sent to: Nathaniel Lee, 107 Franklin St., St. George, S. C. For further information contact: Friends of the Deacons, 271 W. 125th St., New York, N.Y.

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Censored

Chicago, Ill.

A few weeks ago, a voice announced over radio station WCFL that "because of technical difficulties, 'Contact' has been cancelled." What the announcer should have said was that because of CENSORSHIP, "Contact" will not appear on the air.

"Contact" was to be a new program dealing with controversial subjects. The subject for the first show was to be "Is the Draft Legal?" Dr. Linus Pauling from California and David Miller, the New York pacifist who is challenging the draft, would have been on via long distance telephone. At the station were to be Attorney Leonard Earlin, Donald Weatherall and myself — all opposed to U.S. action in Vietnam.

The program was supposed to permit listeners to phone in and talk with the panelists. The purpose was to provoke the listening public to question the position of the antiwar panel and give us a chance to present our point of

view about why we're against the war.

When we heard "Contact" was cancelled, we suspected it was because of the mass demonstrations the previous weekend against U.S. foreign policy and we decided to find out.

When we called we were told the manager was out but the woman we talked to said it was ordered off the air because of pressure from some very powerful forces, including the *Chicago Tribune*.

Later we talked to the station manager who assured us it was cancelled only because of "technical difficulties" and that censorship was "definitely not involved." Later we talked to a man involved with the program and he felt censorship definitely was!

A week later they presented a program on the war (probably to correct their boo-boo and get in a good light with the power structure.) The peace forces were placed in a bad light and the war hawks in a good one. Mayor Daley and others made statements supporting "our fighting boys." A few people like Don Yeast of SDS were interviewed but our side (the get-out-of-Vietnam side) was not fairly or adequately presented.

I guess that all of us that are fighting for immediate withdraw-

al will have to fight all the harder. Especially in the face of such obstacles as censorship. They just don't want America to know we exist! Furthermore, if we're so small, why in heaven are they so concerned about us?

Pieter Romayn Clark

[Pieter Romayn Clark drew wide attention when he was called up for induction and proceeded to express his views in opposition to the Vietnam war to others at the induction center and circulated, with some success, an anti-war petition among them. He was not drafted. Editor.]

Anti-Blackout

Orange, N. J.

Keep up the good work! Without *The Militant* we'd really be in a blackout. We enjoyed Mr. Eisenhower's recent statement made in *Life* magazine, that "we have to make the Vietnamese want democracy . . . because they have for so long been dominated by colonial powers like France, etc."

Mrs. W.E.

Canadian Socialist

Toronto, Canada

I read your latest issue of *The Militant* — the first time I have read it. Being a revolutionary socialist, I was very impressed by the articles and the way in which the news was presented. I enclose \$1 (Canadian) for a four-month

subscription to *The Militant* and a six-month subscription to the *Young Socialist*, under your limited offer.

I noticed one of your feature articles, Questions and Answers on Socialism. Keep up the good work!

B.D.

Girlie Pics: Help or Hurt?

Brooklyn, N. Y.

I really cannot understand the strategy behind the Pentagon's psychological warfare.

Several weeks ago I read in the *El Diario* of New York an item showing how pin-up girl photos posed in almost nude, were being sent to American GIs in Vietnam. The photos were posed for by such curvaceous idols as Elke Sommer. I remember how this disturbed me because I felt it was bad enough to force our young men to fight in such a dirty war far from home without having to remind them of the good times some of their more fortunate fellow citizens were having at home. Friends of mine told me that my attitude was all wrong; this would spur the men on to fight harder and get the war over with.

Now only last week I read in the *Daily News* that American flyers were dropping pin-up pictures of female nudes on the "Viet Cong" liberation fighters. The psychology behind this, my friends now assert, is that this will make the guerrilla homesick, and they will not want to fight but return home.

Is there such a difference in the make-up of American and Vietnamese soldiers? If pin-up nudes spur men to fight harder, then somebody is trying to build up even higher the fighting spirit of the guerrillas. If they make soldiers homesick, then somebody is sabotaging American military efforts in South Vietnam.

I think the whole thing is very suspicious and calls for an investigation by the proper congressional committee.

Vincent Henriquez

Masters of Deceit

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Please take note of some recent examples of blatant deceit. "Red China is imperialist-expansionist, and is ready to gobble up South East Asia, and then the rest of the world if it weren't for U.S. 'con-

tainment' policy in South East Asia, etc.," and on the other hand U.S. military analysts concur that "Now is the time to attack Red China, for her military capacity is virtually all defensive, having practically no ability to retaliate significantly past her own borders while we can, in a matter of weeks of aerial bombardment, etc. destroy its nuclear capacity and much of its industrial capacity with the Soviet Union an almost disinterested party."

But perhaps the most monstrous example of CIA deceit is typified by Ohio's Senator Young's discovery that the CIA hires Saigon puppet troops who disguise themselves as NLF guerrillas and then proceed to commit murder, rape, pillage and robbery, etc., in various South Vietnam villages in order to destroy the NLF's patriotic image.

Jerry Alberti

McCarran Act

West Hartford, Conn.

The following is a letter which I sent to the local newspapers recently:

The forces of reaction suffered a defeat on Nov. 15 when the Supreme Court unanimously declared that the membership registration provision of the McCarran Act is unconstitutional. This section required members of the Communist Party, or any other organization designated as "subversive" by the government, to register with the government as "agents of a world-wide conspiracy." In case of war or national emergency, those registered would have been confined in detention camps.

The provisions of the McCarran Act providing for the registration of organizations designated as "subversive" still stand. Presently in Washington D.C. the trial of the Communist Party U.S.A. is taking place. The government's case is based on the fact they have hired informants within the Communist Party who are willing to register it as a "subversive organization".

It's high time that the people demand an end to all laws suppressing political freedom. All Americans, regardless of their own political beliefs, should write to the President and the Attorney General demanding an end to all persecutions under the McCarran Act.

Paul Basch

It Was Reported in the Press

Correction — Recently we reported that *foie gras*, a chopped goose liver loaf is being flown into New York from France and is available at \$30 a pound. The price struck us as a little high until we learned it also includes chopped truffles.

Catching On — Angered because Humble Oil Co. is trying to put up a gas station in a residential zone, 50 residents of Aspen, Colo., gathered in front of the local courthouse and burned their Humble Oil credit cards.

Love That Man — Commenting on the anti-U.S. demonstrations aroused by Dean Rusk in Uruguay and Robert Kennedy in Chile, Richard Nixon declared: "We must keep our heads and recognize that as a great world power it is far more important to be respected than liked."

New York's Finest — A New York police lieutenant was suspended after the gun and badge he had reported stolen was turned in by a prostitute who said she took them while the cop was sleeping in a hotel because he had refused to pay her. She was booked for illegal possession of a firearm.

Challenge Double Standard — Two Oakland, Calif., women sentenced to prison for prostitution are challenging their conviction on the ground that the men arrested with them were not charged. As in most other cities, the police do not prosecute the men arrested with prostitutes. Their attorney charged that on such a basis the prosecution of the women is "arbitrary and discriminatory." He indicated the possibility of carrying the appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Our Civilized Society — We reported the firing of an Arkansas state college instructor who circulated a petition protesting the practice of whipping prisoners at the state penal farm. But now all cause for complaint has been removed. U.S. District Judge J. Smith Henley has ruled that such floggings be "surrounded by appropriate safeguards." He said the whippings "must not be excessive; it must be inflicted as dispassionately as possible and by responsible people . . ." Now if they can establish "appropriate safeguards" for burning at the stake, we'll be all set.

Fun Furniture — Furrier Jacques Kaplan, who wants to "take the trauma out of luxury and make it fun," is now peddling fur furniture. He has a racoon-lined hammock suspended in a mahogany frame which he asserts is better than a martini. He took a blue fox fur rug, whipped it over an old sofa frame and explained, "This shows you can make something beautiful out of absolutely nothing." He sold it for \$2,000.

Programming Problems — The airlines now have a headache choosing proper films for the movies shown on their flights. Some standards have already been established. The airlines tend to avoid films that make people nervous or show airplane crashes. Musicals and light comedies are favored over films with serious themes that might prove offensive to one or another paying customer. Pan

Am turned down "The Sandpiper" because "a minister led into adultery isn't the kind of film you show in an airplane." Was the minister on an airplane?

Up South — An attorney for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission said he had visited hospitals in the deep South that were more integrated than many hospitals in Chicago. He said Chicago hospitals kept Negro and white patients segregated in semi-private rooms and that they avoided admitting Negro doctors to their staffs. "If they can do it in Alabama, you should be able to do it in Chicago," he said.

He Can Say That Again — The producers of the new Broadway show, "The Devils," notified first nighters that they would be refused admission if they didn't wear evening dress. With orchestra and mezzanine seats selling at \$7.95 we can appreciate the theater's explanation that "The intent is to impress on people that theater-going is a privilege."

—Harry Ring

Thought for the Week

"It's reassuring to go to Washington and find out that this country is in the hands of such absolutely marvelous men. I feel better about the fate of the world after watching President Johnson dance . . . He is no delicate tip-toe around the floor but a real swinger." — Eugenia Sheppard in the *New York Herald Tribune*.

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Berkeley Student March Protests Vietnam War

By Hal Verb

BERKELEY, Calif., Nov. 20 — An estimated 20,000 marched today from the steps of Sproul Hall on the University of California campus to De Fremery Park in Oakland some five miles away in a protest of United States policy in Vietnam. The march was sponsored by the Vietnam Day Committee.

Under extraordinary police precautions the march began at 10 a.m. in order to fulfill one of the many conditions specified by Federal Judge William Sweigert, and ended at 4 p.m. after several speakers had blasted American foreign policy and the role of the U. S. in the Vietnamese war. Literally thousands of heavily armed police equipped with billy clubs and tear gas, sheriff's deputies, and California Highway Patrolmen escorted the marchers.

The march was ordered to enter Oakland by 11 a.m. and be completed before dark and was to proceed in sections of 1,000 persons with intervals of at least 60 feet to permit traffic to cross. A court order enjoined the Oakland Police and prohibited them from interfering with the parade and called on them to stop others from interfering with it.

Original Goal

The original goal of the marchers, the Oakland Army Base, was denied by Judge Sweigert who refused to allow the VDC to send "even a single marcher" as a symbolic picket at the terminal.

Last Oct. 16 the Oakland police had stopped a similar march at the city's limits. One police officer's leg was broken and several marchers were hurt in a scuffle which occurred when members of the Hell's Angels, a right wing motorcycle gang, attacked the demonstrators.

This time, however, the Hell's Angels, who had threatened to "counter-demonstrate" when ever there's a demonstration, decided not to show up, because, as they explained, "our patriotic concern for what these people are doing to our great nation may provoke us to violent acts." They offered, instead, to serve as "a crack group of trained gorillas" to fight in Vietnam. When asked what they would do during the demonstration, they replied, "Probably what we'd do on an ordinary Saturday — go to the bar and drink a few suds."

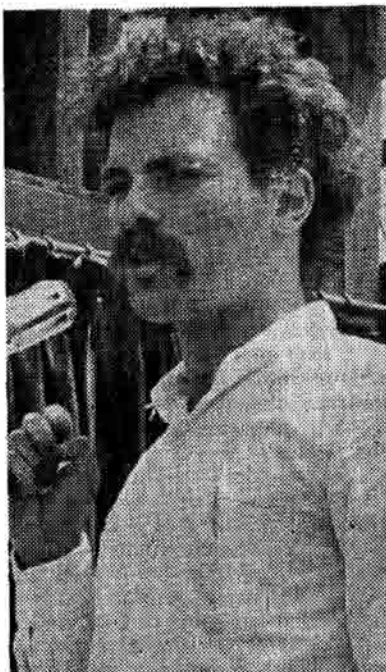
At the De Fremery Park a heavily armed cordon of Oakland police surrounded the park area and stood by as speakers lashed out at U. S. involvement in the Vietnamese war. Speakers included the Reverend Stephen Fritchman, author Robert Scheer, Mark Comfort of the Oakland Direct Action Committee, State Assemblymen John Burton and William Stanton, Don Duncan, and Nathaniel Walker, who headed a delegation from Selma, Ala.

Wearied by Liberals

Said Reverend Fritchman: "I am weary of the endless dialogues, especially by middle-class liberals, about what is a good demonstration and what are bad demonstrations . . . We are here to protest the arrogance that defends that war in Vietnam." And "any man who is unwilling to protest is to say the very least suspect on many fronts." Fritchman also urged Negroes to heed the call by William Worthy to protest our war on colored people in Vietnam as well as in the United States.

Robert Scheer stated that "it is not possible to fight a war of this immorality without suppressing the truth . . ."

Don Duncan, a former Special Forces soldier and winner of the



Jerry Rubin

Bronze Star in Vietnam, declared that after spending 18 months in Vietnam "it's great to be marching for something that makes sense." Duncan said that he believed at one time that he was fighting for democracy but that he had learned that this was not the truth.

"What do the Vietnamese people see?" he asked. "They see us pouring money into a system where the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer . . . Who says we are not in danger when we can tell people that they are going to have American democracy whether they like it or not?" And, he asked: "What right have we as Americans to negotiate their freedom — how can we Americans bargain their rights away?"

Duncan said that "the fight for democracy is not being waged in Vietnam — the only place that the fight for democracy is being fought is here . . . Our country is in peril but the peril won't be alleviated in Vietnam — the peril is right here at home!" He ended his talk by demanding: "We must get out of Vietnam now!"

Nathaniel Walker, a Negro Student at Selma University, said that he had a Negro friend who was drafted into the army and sent to Vietnam where he was killed. "What country could he say he was from? Could he say he had a country?" His answer would be that his country was Alabama. "And is Alabama my country? Why he can't even buy a 25 cents hamburger there and his own mother can't even vote."

INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT ATTACKED

Puerto Rico Headquarters Razed

The national headquarters of the Movement for the Independence of Puerto Rico (MPI), in Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, suffered a devastating fire Nov. 14 which destroyed all of the working offices, all the files and official documents concerning the organization, and a valuable collection of Puerto Rican patriotic paintings.

Besides, the offices of the Federation of University Students for Independence also suffered grave losses. Juan Mari Bras, the principal spokesman and one of the leaders of the MPI, noted that more than \$30,000 worth of material damages were incurred.

The circumstances of the fire pointed clearly to a criminal act of repression against the pro-independence forces of Puerto

CASUALTIES CONTINUE TO MOUNT

Guerrillas Pound GIs

By Dick Roberts

NOV. 23 — As of this writing, Washington still has not released the number of American GI's killed in the ambush in the Iadrang River valley last Wednesday (Nov. 17), but there can be little question that it was the highest number of Americans killed in any battle of the war, and probably in any single week of the war. Total American casualties listed two days before the ambush were 1,095 killed in action, 5,661 wounded and 96 missing.

Statements by top U.S. military brass to the contrary notwithstanding, it is pretty clear what happened in the Iadrang River valley battle. American troops fell prey to the age-old guerrilla trick of attacking a retreating force. Two battalions of the First Cavalry Division (Airmobile), numbering about 1,000 men were trapped while retreating from an "untenable" position further to the south; they were pinned down by fire from three directions; one company was nearly wiped out.

Probably the best description came from one of the survivors, a staff sergeant, Miguel Seise, reported in the Nov. 18 New York Herald Tribune: "We had to leave most of the wounded behind," he said. "I told what was left of the men, and there weren't many, to pull back if they could. I told them they had a 50-50 chance of getting out. We started crawling under terribly heavy fire.

"We crawled 250 yards, then started running. I never ran so fast in my life . . . The ones we left behind were screaming in pain and fear . . ."

There's another side of the story, too, which virtually all reports of the battle indicate. That is how the surviving soldiers got out of the trap. When they realized what was happening to them, the GI's who remained alive grouped in a circle. Low-flying airplanes came in and bombed the periphery of the circle — within seventy-five feet of the men.

Those Left Behind

It meant the Vietnamese revolutionaries couldn't sustain the attack. But what about those GI's lying on the field, who were wounded in the initial onslaught? Apparently they were bombed in the process by their own planes.

But the truth of the matter is that this ambush is only the first serious encounter resulting from the strategy the Pentagon has been mapping out for some time. When the first great increases in American troop commitment to Vietnam began early last summer, Hanson W. Baldwin, the New York Times military specialist predicted that plans were being made to prepare



Robert McNamara

for a war which could eventually include a million American troops.

It was an open secret in Washington, which The Militant reported June 21, that Defense Secretary McNamara's plans at the time included sending an additional 300,000 men. Only the widespread unpopularity of the war in this country has prevented the Pentagon from moving at a faster pace towards the execution of these plans.

Writing from Saigon after the ambush of the Airmobile Division, Baldwin's final comment was, "Aside from the discussion about the First Cavalry, all officers here agree that there are not enough United States ground forces in Vietnam to seek out and destroy the main enemy force." (New York Times, Nov. 20)

It is not only the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, however, which the Johnson administration has to confront in the deadly process of escalating this war. There is the growing opposition among the American people. Even certain sectors of the American ruling powers are disturbed by present administration policy.

One reflection of this has been recent editorials and articles in the New York Times.

In the first place, the Times revealed something that the Johnson administration has been trying to keep a tight-lipped secret. This is the fact that opposition to the war among American people is far more widespread and goes much deeper than the present numbers of the anti-Vietnam-war protest movement, alone, would show.

It begins with the GI's themselves. Nov. 20, the Times made public some of the letters which it has been receiving from the

Vietnam front. "A Specialist 4 attached to an armored mobile company in Qui Nhon," the Times reports, "was convinced he was fighting to keep Americans a 'free people.' Yet he wrote of a soldier, possibly himself, 'sitting in a muddy foxhole, under enemy fire, not knowing whether he is going to live through it or not, all alone just thinking and wondering, Is it really worth it?'"

"Perhaps the most surprising letter of all," the Times article continues, "came from a Private First Class in the infantry in Vietnam. 'The heat here cannot be explained,' he wrote. 'The bugs, rodents and diseases prevalent here are innumerable. A typical day is spent hunting through the jungles for Vietcong. Each night is spent waiting for the Vietcong to probe our lines. The men average about three hours sleep a day.

"Now these so-called 'protestors' do not wish to live this way," he added, 'Who can blame them?' . . . 'I just want to say from this side of the fence, I agree with them.'"

Opposition Mounts

At home, according to the Times associate editor James Reston, "polls support the President's conduct of war, but as the casualties mount the reports from the Democratic Congressmen in their home districts are beginning to reflect a rising opposition. This is coming from three directions — from those who feel the President has gone too far in committing men to battle on the ground; from those who feel he has not gone far enough in the air war against the industrial targets in North Vietnam; and from those who feel he has missed the opportunities to negotiate a settlement and want him to get out at any cost."

The Times has also begun to tell some of the truth about the horrible effects of the saturation bombing of South Vietnam.

"More sorties are now being flown by United States planes than in the Korean war," the Times stated editorially, Nov. 21, "and the nature of the guerrilla war makes it impossible to avoid killing innocent civilians as well as Vietcong . . ."

"By Sept. 5," the editorial continues, "about 5 percent of South Vietnam's rural population had fled into the cities and refugee camps . . ."

"Statistics cannot adequately describe the intensity of American air attacks and the damage they are doing to the South Vietnamese countryside, but they do give some indication. The number of strike sorties rose month by month from about 1,000 in January, before American air units were engaged, to about 7,500 in July. In the past month alone there have been 12,000 strike sorties — more than all 1964 — and about 11,000 buildings were destroyed or damaged."

Big Antiwar Vote In S.F. Student Poll

The effect of an active Committee to End the War in Vietnam on a college campus can be seen in the results of an opinion survey taken at San Francisco State College and published in the Nov. 8 issue of the school paper, Golden Gate. Of the 200 students questioned at random only 44 percent agreed with Johnson's policy in Vietnam; 40 percent opposed it; and 16 percent were indifferent. More significantly perhaps, 17 percent considered themselves active protesters of the war.



Juan Mari Bras

Rico. The MPI is generally regarded as the largest and most significant section of the pro-independence movement. The facts that the doors of the building were forced open, and that the fire started in four places at the same time reveals a very well devised plan to burn down the headquarters.

Spokesmen for the MPI in Puerto Rico and New York laid responsibility for the burning at the doorstep of the CIA.

The Movement for Independence has recently mounted a popular campaign against military conscription into the U.S. army. They consider such conscription a colonial imposition on the Puerto Rican people. MPI also opposes U.S. intervention in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.